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Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie
et de Linguistique [illegible]

ANTHROPOS

Ephemeris Internationalis Ethnologica et Linguistica
Rivista Internazionale • Revista Internacional
d'Etnologia e di Linguistica • de Etnología y de Lingüística
International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics
Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachenkunde

Fondateur: P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.

Herausgegeben vom Anthropos-Institut
Schriftleiter: P. Fritz Bornemann, S.V.D.
Posieux (Fribourg) Schweiz

Band / Vol. XLVI. 1951

[illegible] [illegible]

Druck und Verlag: Paulusdruckerei Freiburg in der Schweiz

[Title Page]

The Social Institutions of the [illegible]

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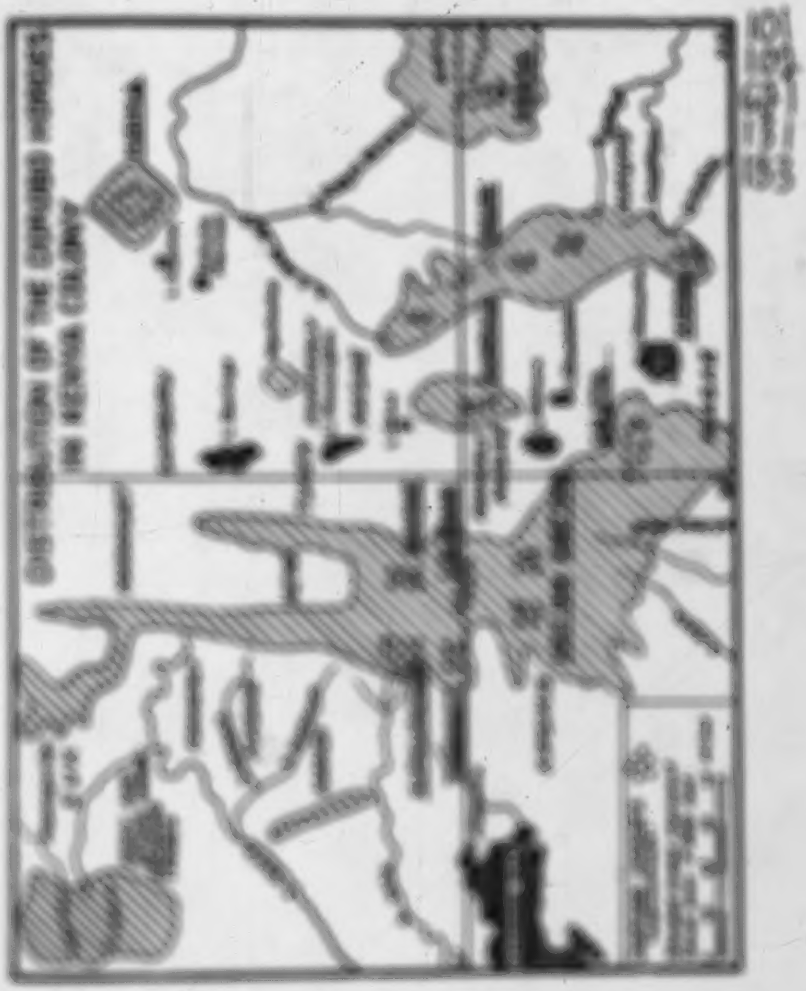
DISTRIBUTION OF THE DOROBO HORDES
IN KENYA COLONY

131 Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika
[133] live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masai of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes
[77] that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masai.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. Sir Harry Johnston
174 believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masai
177 who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masai group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy
[144] strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masai and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulo, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VI^th^ dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

173 However this may be, both Nandi and Masai regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masai version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover Hollis quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[3]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

101 From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise
[131] stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[4]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an
133 average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

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[3] Hollis: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[4] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

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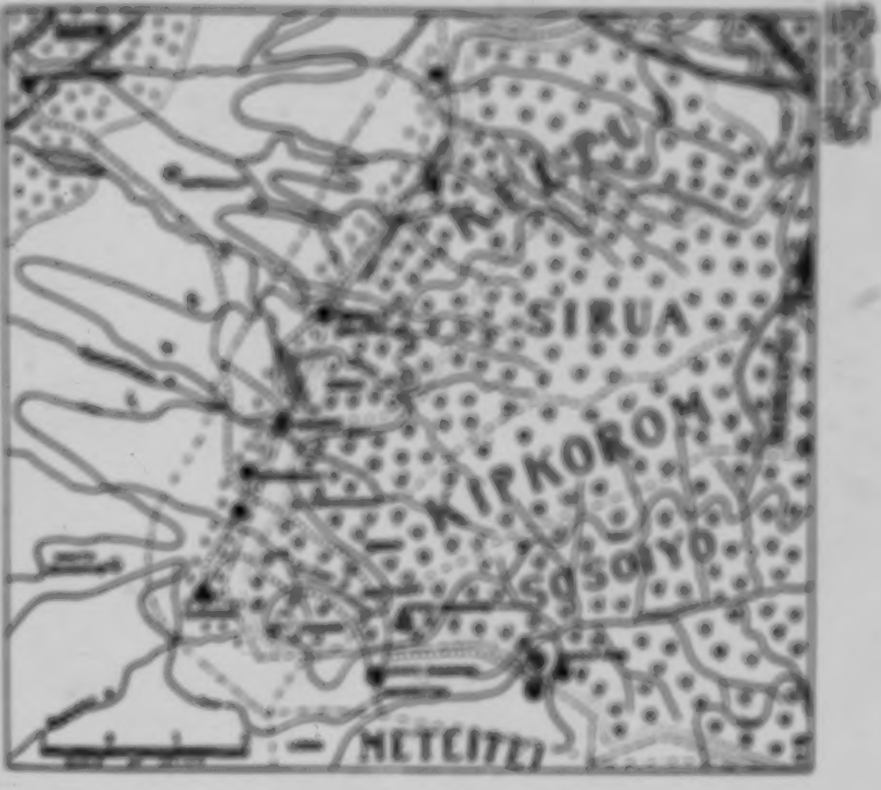
Sketch Map of the [illegible] Nandi Country


SIRUA
KIPKOROM
SOSOIYO
METCITET

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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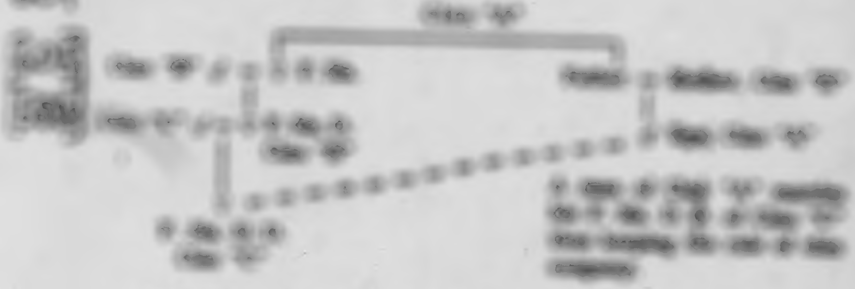

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Terms of Address

[illegible]

[illegible]

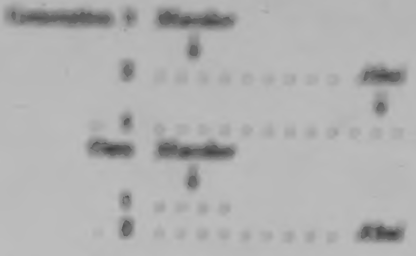
[illegible]

Grouping of terms

[illegible]

[illegible]

(Third ascending generation): father's father's father*, father's father's mother*, mother's father's father*, mother's mother's father*. Own generation*: father's brother's son*, father's brother's daughter*, father's sister's son*, father's sister's daughter*. First descending generation: father's brother's children's children*, father's sister's children's children*.



601
171
C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).
D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

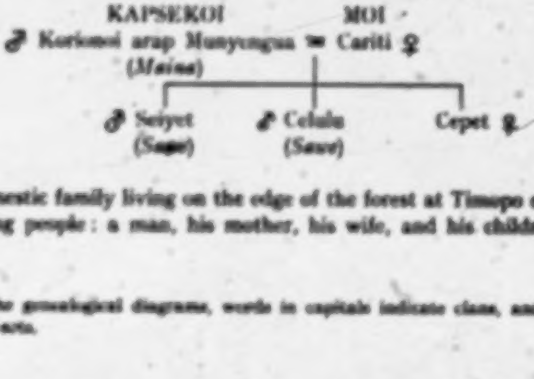
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupcat* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakwet* and *akui*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tiliet*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *makikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic
596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sosoiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children*:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timopo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

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* In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets age-sets.

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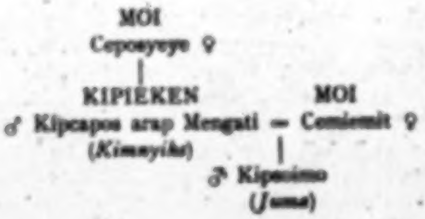
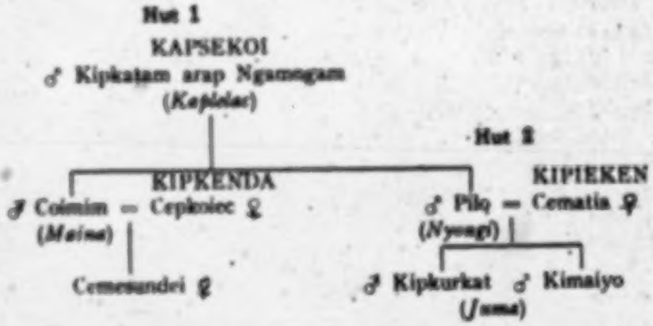

MOI
Ceposyeye ♀
KIPIEKEN
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati = Comiemit ♀
(Kimnyike)
MOI
♂ Kipesimo
(Juma)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:


Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam
(Kapkolac)
Hut 2
KIPKENDA
♂ Coimim = Cepkoiec ♀
(Maina)
Cemesandei ♀
KIPIEKEN
♂ Pilo = Cematia ♀
(Nyongi)
♂ Kipkurkat
(Juma)
♂ Kimaiyo

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived 361 unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became [342] ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was follow- 487 ing from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their 361 settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some 178 cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are 621 larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone 602

621 622 who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a [609] child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

594 The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. 593 Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and 855 way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

862 Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and 854 the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister 593 if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby [222] with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba*[10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

593 The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

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[177] [10] The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection 593 of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. [837] A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are [564] within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are [855] more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except [586] back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. [861] A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lakuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As EVANS-PRITCHARD has pointed out, the behaviour of father to 855 mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[11]. It is the 867 mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, 888 and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

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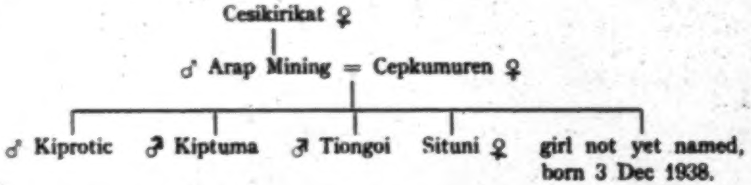
[11] Man, 1929, 148.

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:

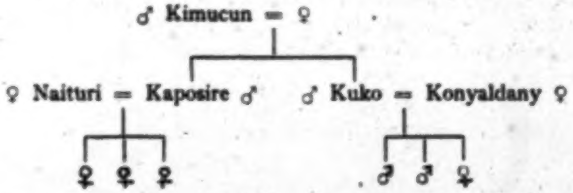

Cesikirikat ♀
♂ Arap Mining = Cepkumuren ♀
♂ Kiprotic
♂ Kiptuma
♂ Tiongoi
Situni ♀
girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

ficatory mother, *eiyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is 855 not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping 604 her husband's brother's wife ; and being younger than the grandmother, can [603] give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead :



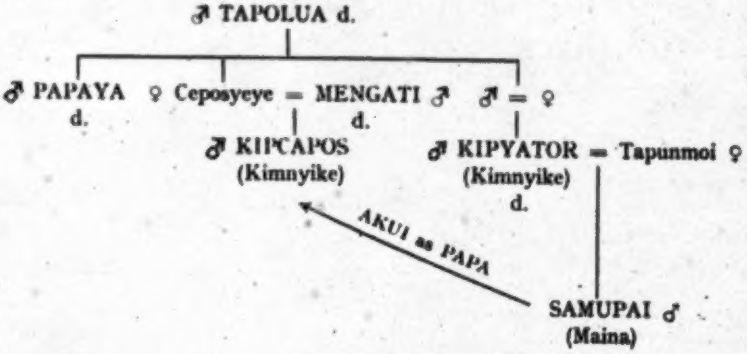
To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother ; 604 and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this ; and [591] the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiye*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiye* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things ; [861] he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called ? what are you going to do with that piece of wood ? what made those marks on the ground ? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them [868] how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical [869] observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukot*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him ; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

604 [881] he respected and feared both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both oiled him [18]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

When a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *akui*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *akui*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

602 The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at 162 Kipukua where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cesundil a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kipungei, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimutai

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[18] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who oils his head and face in token of consent.

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap 162
Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young
sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after [592]
the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of
Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three
men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of
the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived
alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young
men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be [582]
quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circum-
cised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small [881]
hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she
went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with
women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the
boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns 561
tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within
the *tiliet*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-
clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence
and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at [861]
a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the 867
educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behav-
iour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with
whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to
the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives
with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range
of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the
absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the
abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both 862
boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business
of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes
them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life 867
that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects
improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of 868
puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a
division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son
the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to
skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave
like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to
manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the
normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are
in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock [858]
their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

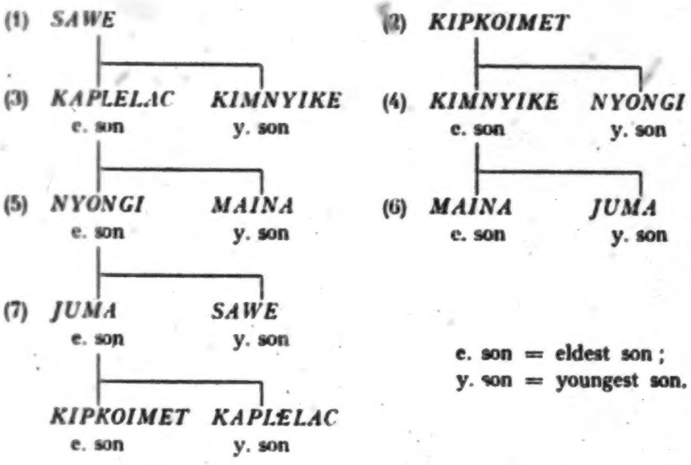
2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[171] [177] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have 561 taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between [177] them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipkoimet*, *Kaplelac*, *Kimnyike*, *Nyongi*, *Maina*, *Juma*, *Sawe*.

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the oldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kinnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



e. son = eldest son;
y. son = youngest son.

Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at [881] intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1939, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their precdeessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1939, the next batch [886] of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1939 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates while the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

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a: Arap Mining.

b: Cepkumuren his Wife.

c: Cesikirikat his Mother.

d: Situni his Daughter.

e: Kiprotic Tiongoi Kiptuma his Sons.

f: Coimim. Pilo.

[Facing P. 32]

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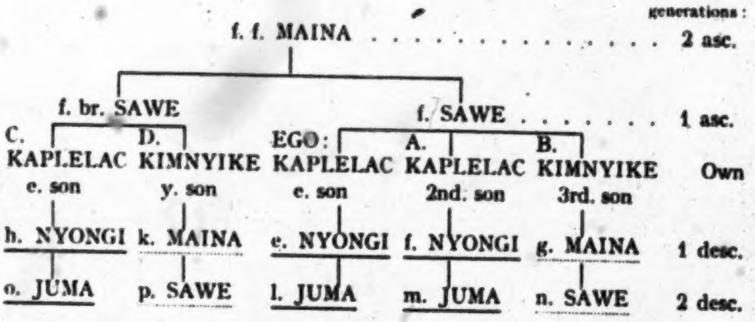
1923	1939	Ages	
7 *Sawe*	*Kiphoimet*	95	Old men: four sets.
6 *Kiphoimet*	*Kaplelac*	80	
5 *Kaplelac*	*Kimnyike*	65	
4 *Kimnyike*	*Nyongi*	50	
3 *Nyongi*	*Maina*	35	"Men": one set.
2 *Maina*	*Juma*	20	Initiates: one set.
1 *Juma*	*Sawe*	7	Small boys: one set.

In the third column are the maximum ages in years of the sets in 1939. By 1939 there were no *Sawe* alive, and the age-name started over again at the bottom as the name of the small boys' age-set. The times for [177] changing are known by carefully watching the Nandi, and the Dorobo regulate their age-set periods and times of circumcision by the Nandi, having no [805] method of time-reckoning of their own.

Each set is divided into three sub-sections called *mostinuek* or "fires", a Nandi term, which the Dorobo call

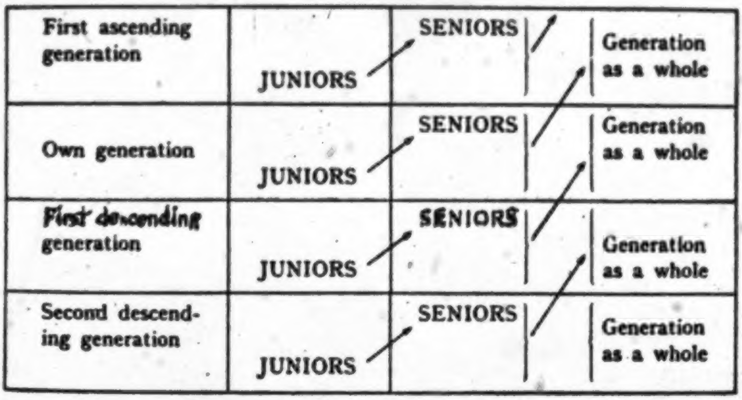
Conginiek, the senior sub-section;
Taparik or Kipalkonyek, the middle sub-section;
Ruwakanik or Kiptoiinik, the junior sub-section.

These 'fires' seem to have no particular function among the Dorobo, [177] but to have been taken over along with the rest of the system when the Dorobo borrowed it from the Nandi, among whom the age-sets have first and foremost a military function in which the 'fires' have a definite part. To the Nandi the behaviour aspect, however important it may be in practice, is secondary. But the Dorobo are not a fighting people and have no [721] sort of military organization, and the adoption of an age-set system means that patterns of behaviour may, under certain conditions, be transferred from kinship to age-set stratification, the function of the age-set being reduced to one of behaviour alone. A new stratification of the society is thus introduced, which has to work in with the existing kinship stratification:


generations:
f. f. MAINA
2 asc.
f. br. SAWE
f. SAWE
1 asc.
C. KAPLELAC e. son
D. KIMNYIKE y. son
EGO: KAPLELAC e. son
A. KAPLELAC 2nd. son
B. KIMNYIKE 3rd. son
Own
h. NYONGI
k. MAINA
e. NYONGI
f. NYONGI
g. MAINA
1 desc.
o. JUMA
p. SAWE
l. JUMA
m. JUMA
n. SAWE
2 desc.

In this diagram, Ego is an eldest son, and a *Kaplelac*. His two brothers are *Kaplelac* and *Kimnyike*, and according to kinship rules all three are *hesenda* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kaplelac* and *Kimnyike*, who are *macohor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *macohor* C, when his other brother B and *macohor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *metik* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position. 561 [881] [882]

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.



First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective *mostinuek* may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will 574 561 [837]

561 574 normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

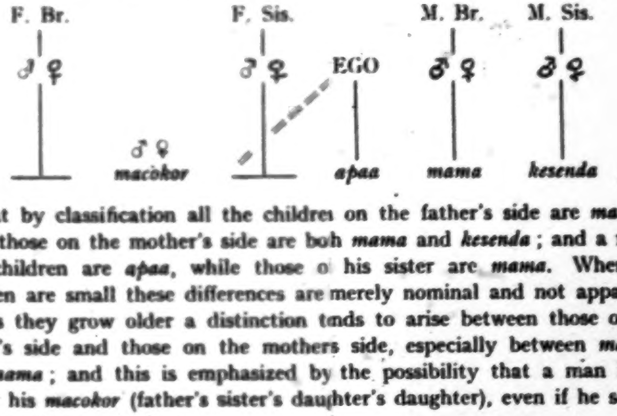
602 593 [539] A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo ualek ce somis, amu ya, ngut ualek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul.* ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") [561] Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

603 It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation [554] a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be [861] inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not [754] as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

593 [183] Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father 888 of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable 561
latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupekei, kiurerencinkei, kiilen-* 522
cinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamei', am ki lakok. ("We use bad language
to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father
lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children",
i. e. we are all of the same age.) These crude phrases, however, must never
be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members
of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no 602
sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may
be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between [834]
macokor, *mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language
but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, [835]
such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between
members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, 476
there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among
those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life.
The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even 621
a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced
to insignificance.

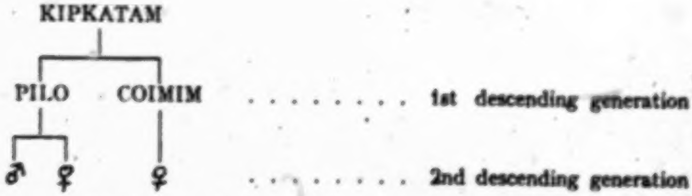
The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his 605
macokor, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like
his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary,
but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to
whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I [604]
have already described. But between members of this generation there is
a marked terminological difference:



so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*,
while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's
own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the
children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent;
but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the
father's side and those on the mothers side, especially between *macokor*
and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might [582]
marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom
or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a rela- 603
tionship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with
his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



[887] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in [591] close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

the other hand, there should be no *weriat*, just greeting and a minimum 607 of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps 603 be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal [867] about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesunguny who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesunguny would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they [881] slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in [513] the *sikiroinet* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will 603 be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere opeku lakocu ce mooipua* 754 *omituakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a 578 curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralized by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend :	*Kaami kapkoko amut, konereket, amu maoipcin omituakik arauek ce cau, kocupok, kole, "Sere, opekun lakocu".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Puace, die, you children".
Children :	*Woi, awendi ono, eiyo! Kokocupei koko, kole, "Sere, opekun".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother :	*Moomuen, lakocu, mawecok koko, kocamok, a mutai kipendi olinnyin si kiipcin melekto.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend :	*Weiis, miye noto, si kocam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children :	*Weiis, kepe korun, . . . Kiipcin ne, si kocam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother :	*Kipendi korun, si kiipcin nyanyait ok lokomek.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kasuutok ako ra opaipaitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si kaam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kasda used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipsukua; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kasda and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipsukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkumaren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *oret*, plural *oritinuek*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, or simply *tiondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi [177] clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

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[[77]]

descriptive, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its attributes. Each clan corresponds to a Nandi clan, with the exception that one, the Kapsekoi, corresponds to both Nandi Kipkokos and Moi, and that the Dorobo have also a clan called Moi corresponding to Nandi Moi. This apparent confusion indicates that the Dorobo have borrowed the Nandi clan nomenclature and added it to their own clan system without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deep-seated a part of their organization. The lax appreciation of the significance of the clan animal has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

614
[illegible]

A. Attested by genealogies and census

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. Kapsekoi	Kipkokos Moi	subsidiary name of Nandi clan Kipkokos	*kemenyet***
2. Moi	Moi	Nandi corresponding clan	1. *kemenyet* 2. *asist** 3. *kiphamosit*
3. Kipichen	Kipiehen	Nandi clan	*kesokot*
4. Kipamoi	Kipamoi	Nandi clan	*moseyo*
5. Kapil	Kipsirkoi	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	*teret*
6. Toiyoi	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	*rogita*
7. Koraper	Tungo	subsidiary name of Nandi clan	*kimaroket*
B. Attested by genealogy from Tindiret			
8. Talai	Talai	Nandi clan	*sombili*

The following are reported to exist or to have existed, though I came across no members of them, either in person or in genealogies; the names were mentioned to me, however, in 1927:

9. Kipangoi, corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, of which Kipangoi is a subsidiary name; totem, *sangururiot*.
10. Kipasiso, corresponding to Nandi Kipasiso; totem, *asista*.

** Animals marked thus * do not correspond to the Nandi clan-animals.

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177 11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiiting; totem, *kipsokeriet*.

The clan-animals are: *kongoyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *suet* in Nandi; *kipkamoiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *kondoet*, baboon, called *moset* in Nandi; *arenwoyo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *aremojon*, Nandi *cepkirkiet*; *toraet*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *toraet*, Nandi *toret*; *ropta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimaroiet*, hyaena, called *kimaketiet* in Nandi; *aembir*, lion, called *ngetundo* in Nandi; *cemoroatiet*, partridge, called *taiyuet* in Nandi; *asista*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipsokeriet*, snake, called *eront* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *oret* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap oret*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne oreaman?* "what is your *oret*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ne tiond ap oreaman?* "what is the animal of your *oret*?" Clansfellows are considered as *tiliensik*, relatives; marriage [583] within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Oreinyon*, or else as *Ar i apa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clansfellows.

[262] There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Ciit makiome bitio, kiome tiongik tokol* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

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583 Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Ciit nepo Moi kiitumi cepto nepo Moi ingo po kot ake ne menye koret ake a makomi tiliet; agot kiitum nepo tiond ake, mapule* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

one whose totem is Kongoyot may marry one with Soiet or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Soiet may marry one with Kongoyot or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Kipkamoiet may marry one with Soiet or Kongoyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongoyot man married a Soiet girl.

[177] There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Koraput, for instance, may marry Kapsekoi, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

though in Nandi, such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan. 614 582

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details[illegible]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masai in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masai or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi[illegible]. 881 177

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirasi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1929-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation. 881 [248]

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (tum) is that it makes

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[illegible] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 53-60.

[illegible] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

881 them complete adult members of the [illegible], and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [835] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word [illegible]. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of [illegible] as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *[illegible]* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [884] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

580 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. *Later*

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and 584 makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but 583 varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the intro- [177] duction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband [587] dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to 585 arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum*[14] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

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[14] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), [192] in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoat* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoat* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoat* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Keipuncin cicoto, meiwendi* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sekutiet* grass (Sporobolus) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words '*keipuncin*', etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sekutiet* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the base is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyou tiec*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage
[840] beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectio phalli, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children
[302] should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, he by the *Pa-tum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *korosiot*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *oltamiyoit* (olive), *ceptuiyet*, or *masaita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *korosiot* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *korosiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

4. Birth

Intercourse stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and 834
normally is not resumed till about six months after the birth of the child. 843
When the woman's time has come, she *cuti ka*, "enters the hut", and the
husband must then lodge elsewhere, either building himself a rough shelter
or living with one of his neighbours in the settlement. During the act of
birth the woman is helped by a midwife, *ngaitoyonit*, and her mother is present 844
if possible. She stays for six or seven days in the hut after giving birth,
and may then see her husband for the first time since she "entered the 846
hut". The child's body must be kept covered for several weeks after its
birth, and only its face may be seen, even by the father. At this stage [854]
the mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he
must buy or steal if he has none of his own), and rubs the fat and undigested [783]
grass from its stomach (*eiyat*) over her face, breasts, and belly. After about
three months the husband may come back to live in his own hut.

The birth of twins is not liked, for they are abnormal, and the old 845
men say, *yaacen amu uuanit kamet* ("they are bad because they make the
mother unclean"). If the father should have set a trap at the time when
twins are born to him, it is believed that that trap will never catch an
animal. The ritual uncleanness caused by the birth of twins is removed by
the killing of a goat (which the husband must get by any means if he owns [783]
none) to be eaten by the mother and her female friends.

A girl who has a child before marriage is called, as among the Nandi, 848
cesorpucot, and becomes unclean ritually as a result. She may be purified,
however, by the man responsible or one of his male relatives who must [783]
kill a he-goat. The meat is eaten by the men and women of the settlement,
but not by the girl; and the *eiyat* or undigested grass from the stomach
is rubbed by one of the women over her face, neck, and breasts, and then
washed off. By this means she becomes clean again, unlike such people
among the Nandi, who remain unclean all their lives.

A baby is suckled as a rule until the mother is well advanced into 853
her next pregnancy: the standard period was given as "twelve months".
If the mother has no milk, or not enough, she goes about begging for milk,
somoti ceko; but as often as not in such cases the baby dies of starvation.
It is weaned by being slapped when it tries to suck, and by the application 862
to the nipples of something bitter, generally a concoction made from the
root of a bush called *koskosit* (Nandi, *ketemuet*). At this time it is fed with
milk from a small gourd, and if no milk can be got, it is given honey instead.
It is also given bits of meat cut up small and fed from a spoon made of a
piece of gourd; and gruel made from maize or eleusine meal mixed with honey.

If the mother dies in child-birth, her husband's mother or some other 853
female relative takes charge of the baby and feeds it with milk from a 768
small horn: if milk cannot be got, honey and gruel are tried; but very small
babies fed in this way seldom live. Sometimes the child may be adopted [597]
by a married couple.

597 Adoption is also practised when an unmarried girl has a baby. In
[848] such cases it may be adopted by a childless couple, i. e. who have lost their
children, or whose children have grown up and left them, but mostly (on
the rare occasions when it occurs) the former. An adopted child has the
status of a man's own child. Adoption may in certain cases be by previous
arrangement. It has happened, I was told, that a person who has cattle
or means of getting milk may hear that a certain girl has got pregnant, and
gives notice that he will adopt the child when it comes. The mother of
the girl accordingly tells him when the girl "enters the but", and the
adopter's wife fetches the baby to her own home as soon as it born. She
feeds it with milk from a small horn, and the Dorobo reckon that such
babies will do all right, for they say, "such a child need not suck for very
[848] long". Illegitimate children are killed if nobody can be found to adopt them.

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5. Adultery and divorce

684 Adultery may be punished by a husband who catches his wife with another man, by shooting the male offender with an arrow. If he kills him, he has to pay the normal compensation for homicide. He may also beat his wife, after which he "waits till she has got sense", as they put it, when he buys a goat for her, which they eat together. A man does not divorce his wife for a single act of adultery, but only if she is a bad and neglectful wife who is continually caught with other men.

586 When a man has, after much thought, made up his mind to divorce
his wife, he calls in one of his relatives to help him perform the divorce ceremony.
Taking a piece of liana, he rubs earth on it and gives one end to
his relative to hold, taking the other end himself, the wife being present
and looking on. They then break the liana in two, the man saying to his
wife, *Kaail katunisiet kuu kiil poroanni, ui ka, pakaktan* ("I have broken
our marriage as this liana has been broken: go home and leave me"). He
can then claim the return of the live stock which he paid to her father. But
only a woman who has not borne her husband a child can be divorced;
[581] once there has been a child, no divorce is possible, for the birth of a child
completes the union, which once completed is indissoluble.

6. Polygyny

595 In theory a Dorobo can have as many wives as he can pay for, which
means that usually a man has but one wife at a time. Polygyny may therefore
be said to be non-existent. The only thing that does occur is the
587 occasional re-marriage of a man after the death or desertion of his wife,
of which I recorded three cases. Widows, again, seldom re-marry, living
normally either with their husbands' brothers, returning to their parents,
or even living alone. In one genealogy, however, I found a woman who
was married to four successive husbands, none of whom was her husband's
brother, and having as issue but one daughter. The Dorobo themselves remarked
upon this succession of marriages as being a most unusual occurrence.

7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) 551
porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *kainet ap cesowilok* (or, *oiik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (*a*) a pregnant woman may [775] dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call [787] the child after him; (*b*) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relatives on the paternal side, and 553 they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, pausing after each 787 name: when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (*c*) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Mining's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipoo	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimopo	Kipoo
His son:	Tiongoi	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet (will be): born	Kimopo
		Tiongoi

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their 553 use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name. 551

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed [177] with porridge or gruel (*kainet am musarek*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relatives, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative [852] on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kikurin Sioncu*, "we call you Such and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (*a*) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (*b*) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkatam, "left-handed", Kimnerkat, "fat neck", Parngetuny, "lionkiller".

551 (4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

[553] On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

582 177 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.